171 According to Francisco S.G. Schaden (30), the fathers in this
846 locality, accompanied by their wives, visit the new mother on the Sunday following the birth and must not refuse a draught of spirits at the time of this so-called Kindchenkaffee, for otherwise it is said that the newborn child would be unable to urinate. We see, therefore, that in this case the child's well-being hinges on the behavior of its parents' friends.

Among certain South American tribes, the father is not per-
[224] mitted to go hunting during the first few days following the birth (cf. Koch-Grünberg 2, III, 136). I was told that the Tapirapé goes hunting at this time and is even accompanied by his wife as soon as she is able to come.

853 Wagley and Galvão (3, 172) assert that Tapirapé parents must
933 abstain from sexual relations until the child is "weaned." They
[114] may intend this word to refer to the time when the child begins to take other foods aside from its mother's milk, for the latter is taken, whenever possible, for two or three years or even longer. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The Tapirapé seem to believe in magic conception, although
• 842 they know that pregnancy results from sexual relations. On March 31, 1942, Dr. Wagley told me the following story: once, at the beginning of his stay in Tampiitaua, he suddenly heard, "Here comes Dotoí." He knew that this was the name which the women and children of the village used to call me, adding the diminutive i to the title by which the camarada Daniel addressed me [Tr., in Brazilian pronunciation, "Doctor" sounds like doutô]. Wagley, surprised, [123:55] turned around and saw coming toward him not the colleague from São Paulo but a Tapirapé boy. "Where is Dotoí?" he asked. They pointed to the boy. "But Dotoí is far away," he objected. Then they told him that the boy was also called Dotoí because he was the son of the Dotoí from São Paulo. And as proof of this kinship they showed the ethnologist that the boy, like his distant progenitor, had no tembetá orifice in his lower lip as did other Tapirapé boys of his age. In a dry scientific work such as this, it is idle to conjecture what Wagley thought about me then and whether he compared the skin color of Dotoí II with that of the other children. It is enough to say that he is my friend and the most understanding North American I know. Naturally, he did not fail to notice that the boy's age tallied roughly with the number

842 of years that had elapsed since my stay in Tampiitaua. He also noted that Vuanomanchi was playing the part of the boy's father. And Vuanomanchi had been my close friend in 1935.

A few weeks later, Wagley learned that the "child's spirit" is brought to the woman by a good shaman in the course of the journeys he is wont to make in his dreams. The Tapirapé were familiar with my capacity to "dream from Tampiitaua to São Paulo," that is, to make that long trip while my body was asleep in a hammock in Kamairahó's house. They did not doubt that I [123] was a great shaman. Obviously, therefore, they considered me capable of bringing children's spirits. The fact that I was regarded as the carrier of the spirit of Vuanomanchi's son must have been, first and foremost, an acknowledgement of the ties of sympathy between this Indian and myself.

845 Contrary to some other Indians, such as the Guaikuru described
842 by Sánchez Labrador (II, 30), who kill newborn twins, the Tapirapé
[171] like such dual births. Husbands and wives in this Tupi tribe eat linked bananas in order to give birth to twins, preferably of opposite sex. They call both the twins and those double bananas apekunia, and this term is also used when there are three bananas within one skin. Kamairahó said with reference to such a triple banana that it consisted of one boy and two girls. The Tapirapé had never heard of a triple human birth.

In view of their behavior toward twins, it might be assumed
171 that the vagrant life of the Guaikuru led them to infanticide, while
847 the Tapirapé, as farmers tied to the soil, like to have several children and save all those who are born. The way of life of those hunting and herding Indians of the Paraguay basin contributed to their custom of killing some of the newborn babies. On the other
847 hand, it seems that the Tapirapé do not allow every child to live, either. According to what I was told, they think that it is bad for a couple to have more than three children and more than two of the same sex, and hence kill those who are in excess of these numbers. Wagley and Galvão (3, 172) confirm this, adding that the child who is to be killed is buried in a hole dug for the afterbirth inside the
162 house. As was shown in Chapter 5, in Tampiitaua in 1935 there was only one couple with three children who were issue of that same marriage, and none with more. The children were a boy [123:56]

4: Wagley E-5, (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

755 In the midst of this process he stops several times to suck on the body of his patient and finally, with one awful heave, he spews all the accumulated material on the ground. He then searches in this mess for the intrusive object that has been causing the illness. Never once did I see a shaman show the intrusive object to observers. As one treatment a Tapirapé *pancé* usually repeats this process of "eating smoke", sucking, and vomiting several times. Sometimes, when a man of prestige is ill, two or even three shamans will cure side by side in this manner and the noise of violent vomiting resounds throughout the village.

One other method of curing was observed. During an epidemic of fever Panteri made a collective cure to drive fever out of the village and disinfect the people of the village against it. Two men were dispatched to collect wild honey; this was then mixed with water, making a weak honey mixture. Panteri, after first smoking for a time, went from house to house taking the honey mixture in his mouth and spraying it over the house and its occupants. He carefully sprayed and massaged the patients who had fever and removed the foreign substance from their bodies. For several hours he worked, spraying both the inside and outside of the houses, including the central ceremonial house [824] of the men. It was explained that the honey alone did not have a therapeutic effect against fever but sprayed from the mouth of a *pancé* it drove away fevers.

755 795 828 Shamans also protect the Tapirapé against ghosts. All people who see ghosts faint from fright or from the white substance with which the ghost covers their body. Shamans were called to blow smoke over them and to massage this substance from their bodies. During one funeral dance the shaman Panteri "saw many ghosts" in the environs of the village, recognizing some as long-dead relatives of the deceased. By blowing tobacco smoke about and by going among the ghosts with a large mirror he drove them away before they did any harm.

756 842 82 Shamans are necessary in several other life situations other than illness. For instance, shamans are thought among the Tapirapé to control the pregnancy of women. While pregnancy is known to be related to sexual intercourse, conception is thought to take place only when a shaman "brings a child to a woman". Several species of birds,

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

of fish, of insects, and several natural phenomena, especially thunder, have children: that is, they are thought to control "spirits of children" (20). A shaman steals, or more simply, takes spirits of children from these sources and brings them to a woman while she sleeps. Parents who wish children can bring presents to a *pancé* to "make him dream and bring a child to them". Most Tapirapé parents can identify the source of their children and the shaman who brought them. One father explained that he had taken honey to the *pancé* Urukumu, making him dream, and that Urukumu had then traveled to the house of Thunder and brought back a child to his wife. Another gave a present of fish to a shaman who brought back a child from the small fish called piau (*Leporinus* sp.); and yet another gave honey to a *pancé* who brought back a child from the horsefly (Tabanidae).

To the Tapirapé all good and likewise all evil can be laid at the door of the shaman. Consequently a phenomenon such as barrenness is always the fault of the shaman. A barren woman or a man with no children by his wife must have "quarrelled much with the *pancé*". For example, it was clear to Kamairaho that his failure to have children by the three wives with whom he had lived during his lifetime was due to the shaman: "They do not want me to have a child", he said. He had no suspicion concerning his own sterility, even though his present and third wife had had a daughter by her first husband; for according to Tapirapé belief, all men who have sexual relations with a woman during her pregnancy are biological fathers of child, and Kamairaho was in this manner the "father" of several children.

The safety of Tapirapé men depends upon the power of their shaman during the period each October and November when they must swim while they fish and shoot turtles: for in this region of Brazil rivers are infested with alligators, sting rays (*Potamotrygon histrix*), and the carnivorous fish called piranha (Serrasalminae). The Tapirapé also believe that large snakes lurk in deep pools of the rivers ready to wrap themselves around men and pull them beneath the water. During the year men will not swim in deep water unless it is absolutely necessary

(20) Thunder, night, monkeys, wild pigs, jacú (*Penelope* sp.), jakaré (*Procnias* sp.), fish as called tukunare (*Cichla ocellaris*), pacú (*Mylinae* sp.), and piranha (*Pygocentrus*), and jakari (*Prochilodus* sp.), were listed as sources of "spirits of children".

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940SP22 Tapirapé SP22

A man now points to the
southwestern horizon and says, "Ware killed all spirits there; they are only spirit souls now." (To the north and east, however, many demon spirits are still alive and active.) Ware engaged in a constant battle of wits with the spirit world. He killed many of the dangerous variety by setting fire to their stringy hair which trailed behind them, and he also killed off another group of beings which clubbed men to death and drank their blood.

Sometimes shamans (*panche*) see malevolent beings in their dream travels, and may even become friendly with them or receive their aid. For example, one shaman told of wandering far in an unknown forest as he dreamed, and of coming upon the spirits called *oreya*, who have long hair wound in a mass, and who carry only one arrow with which they can kill a man. They were about to shoot him but he shouted "No, I am a shaman!" and they left him alone, gave him food and aided him to return. Only shamans can have such relations with these supernaturals. Tapirape laymen are afraid to dream.

The shaman is indispensable to Tapirape living, not only because he has dealings with the spirit world, and through his wanderings enriches the knowledge of men, but also because he is of value in many practical ways. Thus he controls the pregnancy of women. Pregnancy is known to relate to sexual intercourse, but conception comes only when a shaman brings a child to a woman. Thunder, and several types of birds, animals and fish, have "children," that is, spirits of children. The shaman brings one of these "spirits" to a woman, putting it inside her while she sleeps. A woman who wants a child can, for example, bring honey to a shaman. This will make him dream, and he will bring her a child. Similarly, a barren woman presumably "had quarrelled much with the shaman."

When Tapirape swim, while fishing and shooting large turtles in the Tapirape River, their safety depends upon the shaman. In this section of Brazil, rivers are full of alligators, *piranha* (carnivorous fish) and sting rays, and according to Tapirape belief, large snakes lurk in deep pools. Before men may swim safely the shaman must tie the jaws of the alligators, strike the *piranha* across their teeth so they will not bite, and tie up the tails of the large snakes. When Tapirape go hunting, it is up to the shaman to tell them where packs of wild pigs will be found, or to lead them down to a good spot in the plains country.[23] Danger may lurk in all food; thus Tapirape often take new corn, fresh meat, or any food, to have danger "blown" out of it by the shaman.

The universe for the Tapirape is not finite or entirely known; it is dangerous. Tales of culture heroes and experiences of shamans provide

[23] When the Tapirape have made kills of wild pigs, which are "pets" of Thunder he will be angry and send a sudden rain or clouding of the sky. If a Tapirape sees an unexpected rainbow in the sky he will say, "The shaman has been successful against Thunder" (i.e., in finding game).

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara 506

Te 847 [845]

abnormalities. Since there is a low incidence of twins and since in several known cases "abnormal" children have been allowed to live, infanticide has had little or no effect upon Tenetehara population trends. The Tenetehara tell of one or two formulas thought to produce abortion. The long taboos imposed on both parents during the pregnancy of the mother and during the early infancy of the child are a source of irritation and discomfort which would seem to tend to discourage large families. But, in general, there is little planned effort among the Tenetehara to limit family size. Men seem proud of several children; women are eager to bear children and they will leave a husband whom they believe to be sterile.

Te 843
Te 842 [68] [586]

In contrast, the Tapirapé value small families. They take specific steps to limit their families and have explicit ideas as to maximum family size. Not only do the Tapirapé bury twins at birth as do the Tenetehara (and for similar reasons) but they believe that a woman should not have more than three live children. (5) In addition, the three children of a woman should not be of the same sex. In other words, if a woman has two living daughters and her third child is also a girl, it is usually buried at birth. Similarly, if she has two male children and her third is a male, infanticide is in order. Furthermore, all men who have sexual relations with a woman during her pregnancy are considered fathers to her child. More than two co-fathers leads to complications. All co-fathers are expected to observe taboos on sexual relations and on the eating of certain meats during the pregnancy of the woman and the early infancy of the child. If there are three, four, or more co-fathers one of them is certain to break these taboos thus endangering the health of the infant; consequently the woman is urged to bury the child. (6)

Ta 168 842
847 [845]
Ta 168 351 847 [843]

On an overt level, the Tapirapé justify these checks on population by saying, "We do not want thin children" or "They would be hungry". They enlarge upon such statements by adding that it is difficult for a father to supply a large family with meat from hunting. In aboriginal times, manioc was plentiful and no one lacked the tubers with which to manufacture flour but meat was especially scarce during the rainy season when the forest is partially flooded and the paths to the savanna country are impassable. In addition, a complex set of food taboos make the job of supplying meat for a family more difficult. Children before adolescence are allowed to eat only specific meats and women are prohibited others. When a Tapirapé says "I am hungry" he generally means by implication:

Ta 168 842
Ta 262

(5) Baldus (1948) vol. CXXIII, p. 55, was told the same regarding the limitation of number of children of the Tapirapé family, but the contrary in relation to twins. According to information given to him by these Indians, the Tapirapé appreciate twins and, therefore, husband and wife eat twin or double bananas, i. e., with two fruits in the same peel.

Ta 114

(6) Genealogies indicated that these rules are adhered to almost without exception. In 1939, during my residence in a Tapirapé village, one woman hesitated in allowing her third male child to be buried. Less than a month after its birth, she appeared one day without the infant and announced that he had died of a cold. Another woman whose child had four fathers allowed the child to live only to have it die of an intestinal disorder. The villagers took a definite «I - told - you - so» attitude.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22

601 [182] [611] **Kinship.**—Kinship is more important in furthering solidarity among the *Tapirapé* than either the moieties or the feast groups. *Tapirapé* kinship is bilateral, its chief principle being that all cousins, whether cross- or parallel-cousins, no matter how distant, are considered brothers and sisters. Children of people calling each other siblings are also called siblings. Mother's sisters are called mother, and father's brothers, father. Mother's brothers and father's sisters are distinguished by special terms. Similarly, a man's brothers' children are considered his sons and daughters, and a woman's sisters' children are her children. Children of a man's sisters or a woman's brothers are given special terms.

[621] [178] The wide inclusiveness of kinship affiliation makes it possible for an individual to call the majority of his fellow villagers—and in former days many people in other villages—by terms of close relationship.

554 581 597 592 An older man of some prestige gathers around him by adoption as many "daughters" or as many of his wife's "daughters" as possible. By the marriage of these "daughters," he attracts a group of younger men within his household who contribute constantly to his larder through the hunt and garden activities. At present, only three of the nine houses in the village were formed in this way, but reduced numbers, we were told, forced various combinations of relatives to share a household.

LIFE CYCLE

842 **Childbirth.**—Although aware that pregnancy is brought about by sexual intercourse, the *Tapirapé* believe that conception takes place when a shaman, serving as intermediary, brings a "child spirit" to the woman. Thunder, night, monkeys, wild pigs, and various fish and insects are supposed to contain child spirits.

843 When the woman is certain that she is pregnant, she tells her husband. They both paint their bodies with genipa and cover their hair with urucú. During the first few days of pregnancy, no restraints are imposed upon the child's parents, but as birth approaches, all sexual contact must cease. [851] All men who have sexual relations with a woman during her pregnancy are considered fathers of the future child, together with the real father.

844 At childbirth the woman is assisted by her mother and sister and by two male relatives. The husband retires to his hammock and is forbidden to partake of any liquid refreshment.

847 Infanticide is practiced because it is considered bad to have more than three children, or two children of the same sex. The fourth child, or third of the same sex, of one mother is buried in a hole dug inside the residence for the afterbirth.

852 304 851 262 On the day after birth, a male child has his lower lip perforated. Until the child is weaned, the parents must refrain from sexual relations and must not eat salt, sugar, honey, or the meat of various animals and forest fowls. Both boys and girls also are restricted in their meat diet. A son